

Family Cohesion, Endurance, and [im] patient Family Capital in Developing Economies: A case of the Karamojong Nomadic Society in Uganda

Rogers Matama¹

Abstract

The purpose of this research was to find out the influence of nomadic culture on family cohesion, endurance, and patient or impatient family capital among the Karamojong society in Uganda. Using the qualitative research approach, the focus groups of elders, youth, and women revealed that Karamojong traditions and initiations play a significant role in nurturing practical family cohesion. The customized initiations and historical traditions also influence the Karamojong endurance. Although the Karamojong society has a special attachment to two significant physical assets (i.e., land and cows), as communal assets, the Karamojong women revealed that they have minimum influence in decisions regarding these physical assets. Karamojong elders are highly respected and trusted by the community, and they play a big role in endurance, family cohesion, and family capital. These findings augment the stewardship theory by extending to more perspectives such as clan based practical family cohesion, combined competitiveness through endurance and community segmented focused traditional initiations that hinge on building patient family capital. All these rely on the elders as units of a strong respect and authority in the Karamojong society.

Key terms: Family Cohesion, Endurance and Patient Family Capital

Introduction

Apart from the highly emphasized anecdotal evidence on a collective family characteristic of the nomadic families, limited empirical evidence on the Karamoja region in line with family cohesion, endurance, and patient family capital, exists. Like the Maasai pastoralists, the Karamojong though rarely studied in spheres of family cohesion, are associated with nomadic difficulties. For instance, a recent study in which Karamoja was among the units of analysis by Matthysen, Finardi, Johnson-Thomas, and Danssaert (2010) highlighted that Nomadic peoples are often, if not universally, perceived as a problem by their governments. The same study, on the other hand, praised nomads as unique, given the environment in which they live; specifically, the Karamojong was hailed as a special kind of persons who make a success of life in the arid scrubland of northern Uganda (Matthysen et al., 2010). Pastoral nomads are a classic example and a predominating one of nomadic groups in Africa (Carr-hill & Peart 2005). Additionally, studies have highlighted the specificity of East Africa's nomadic society studies that have highlighted the uniqueness of East Africa's Nomadic Society (Carr-hill & Peart, 2005).

Like other nomadic communities in West Africa, Kenya, and Tanzania (i.e., the Maasai), the Karamojong are presently a global favorite nomadic brand, that resides in the Karamoja region.

¹Makerere University Business School-Uganda,
Email: rmatama@mubs.ac.ug

Unlike other regions in Uganda, an arid area, Karamoja was hardly colonized. Subsequently, in the past, demeaning phrases on the Karamoja region emanated. For instance, “we should not wait for Karamoja to develop” was often mentioned in the 1980s and 1990s. Such stereotypes on East African nomadic societies have been highlighted in nomadic society development literature (Goldschmidt 1980; Kratli 2000; Carr-Hill & Peart 2005); the ‘cattle complex’ which is fronted among the stereotypes explains the wide dislike of the nomadic pastoralists. Until the late 1990s, Karamoja often hit by the cattle rustling occurrences, an activity that was often reported to be conducted by the Karamojong warriors who sometimes stretched to neighboring countries such as Kenya and South Sudan.

Furthermore, the regions of Uganda, i.e., North, West, Central, and East, show different levels of social-economic development. Exceptionally, the North East region occupied mainly by Karamoja holds one of the highest in poverty level scores in Uganda. Numerous arguments have been put forth to explain the Karamojong regions’ poor development record. For instance, the House-Hold survey in 2017 highlighted the Karamoja region to have the lowest education levels (UBOS HHS 2017), as well as the highest poverty levels in Uganda. On the other hand, some scholars indicate that pastoralists should be presented as skillful and rational users of available natural resources; who are struggling to maintain their livelihood in the face of external ignorance and prejudice (Baxter & Hogg 1990, Behnke & Scoones 1993) and that pastoralist are far from being a mass of drifting unskilled (Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005).

Uniquely, the Karamojong hold a unique formal education history. In the 1930s, when formal education was first introduced in Karamoja, it was rejected by the Karamojong elders. They believed that the pen - a symbol of formal education, was used in recruiting the youth to the colonial army, as well as used in counting the cattle for purposes of levying taxes. So, the Karamojong elders symbolically buried the pen then. As a result, whoever took his son to school was banished from the Karamojong community (Kisige, 2017). The lack of formal schooling in the nomadic societies is often seen as a problem (Ezeomah 1991), yet other scholars argue that nomads are far from being a mass of drifting unskilled (Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005), this has led to what is termed as the central paradox while studying development in the nomadic societies. Nonetheless, there are new formal education drives. For instance, in 2017 the Karamojong elders appeared to have changed their mind when a campaign funded by the Uganda Government, aided by the Irish government and UNESCO (Kisige, 2017). The drive highlighted many education challenges and capped into an agreement to promote formal education. Thus, elders symbolically “exhumed” the pen they had buried (Kisige 2017). With such Karamojong society orientations, unique cultural perspectives on family cohesion, endurance, and patient family capital may manifest. After all, it is incorrect to see pastoralists as resistant to change in general, although they may be resistant to specific pressures to change in their culture (Carr-hill & Peart 2005).

Family is a unit consisting of parent or parents and one or more children (Southall, 2010), it is a broader unit consisting of grandparents and other close relatives and is often equated to a system (Aronoff & Ward, 1995). In the past, most models relating to the family dimension took the system perspective (Olson, 1999). The family is crucial in society (Schänzel & Yeoman, 2014), and at the nucleus level, the family is seen as a pool of close individuals, mainly parents and children (Southall, 2010), while an extended family stretches to grandparents and relatives. The

extended family takes the horizontalization or intra-generational form (Briggs, 2001) and the verticalization or intergenerational form (Yeoman, 2012). Diverse family cohesion perspectives exist, and most have a consistent denominator of social bonds. Renowned researchers on family and marriage defined family cohesion as the emotional bonding that exists between family members (Olson, Russell, & Sprenkle, 1983).

Unlike in developing economies especially in sub-Saharan Africa, most of the family cohesion studies have been mainly examined in developed economies and focused on the marriage sphere (Olson et al., 1979; Olson et al., 1988; Olson et al., 1983), and a handful of Filipino family studies (Lim, 2011) examine family cohesion in immigrant stress (Hovey & King, 1996; De Snyder, 1987). On the other hand, most researchers examine family cohesion and firms (Rosenblatt, 1985; Ding and Lee (2008). There are scarce attempts in Africa that have studied family linking this to firms (Matama, 2005; Van Wyk, 2012; Charles, 2014). Van Wyk (2012), for instance, conceptualized familiness capital in firms; yet family literature primarily hinged in business presents contrasting perspectives, as seen in Venter & Kruger (2004), Zahra (2003) and Habbershon (2006). In particular, family cohesion empirical studies in developing African economies context are scarce, yet anecdotal evidence parades family as a particular unit in the African society. For Uganda, which is the research ground in the current study, the 2017 calendar year declared the year of the family (Kalekyezi, 2017). Besides that, studies reveal that most Ugandan enterprises are family-oriented (UBOS, 2011). Like other family cohesion studies (Corbetta & Salvato, 2004; Kellermanns & Eddleston, 2004; Zahra, 2003), the current study fortified on the stewardship theory (ST). The ST's core proponents such as Argyris (1964), Davis et al., (1997) highlighted the individual, familial responsibility to family. Thus, ST is the basis on family members' affinity to cohesion, endurance, and patiently pool resources under the Karamojong society spheres.

Although patient resources appear to be a relatively new construct in family studies, borrowing from family firm literature, deep familial relationships lead to reduced agency costs (Jabeen & Shah, 2011), and healthy families can function in both sufficient and adverse economic conditions (Levie & Lerner, 2009). In line with the stewardship theory, especially the collective serving-man perspective (Corbetta & Salvato, 2004, p. 357), family cohesion may lead to patient resources.

Thus, the current study hinged on Karamoja's uniqueness may yield new insights into the role of family cohesion and endurance on patient family capital. Uniquely, within the present mostly capitalistic world, a normal Karamojong society orientation seems different. Emphasized social ties and the traditional philosophy on resource sharing, in which refusing to share resources communally be alleged to attract curses to one's clan or family, remains peculiar. Arguably, one wonders why individuals from Karamoja tend to endure more and tend to exhibit more family attachment, unlike individuals in other regions of Uganda, yet repeated generalizations on the Karamojong society as primitive and poverty levels continue to evident. These inconsistencies further motivated the current research. Therefore, the overall research question guiding this study was, what influence does the nomadic culture have on family cohesion, endurance, and family capital?

Lastly, the rest of this paper arranged as follows: the next section is the literature review, which comprises the theoretical review and the empirical review of family cohesion, endurance, and family capital. After this section, the methodology is presented, followed by the findings, discussions, conclusions, and areas of further research.

Literature Review

Stewardship Theory and Link to the Research Objective

The stewardship theory (ST) was introduced by Donaldson and Davis (1989). Proponents of the ST indicate people as collectivist and trustworthy. The stewardship theory illustrates situations in which managers hold motives that are aligned with the objectives of their principals rather than pursue their individual goals (Davis et al., 1997). The stewards behave in a collective manner because they are trying to accomplish the goals of the organization as a whole (Vallejo, 2009). ST implies that reciprocally trusting relationships, empowering organizational structures, and involvement-oriented contexts foster pro-organizational behaviors (Corbetta & Salvato, 2004; Davis et al., 1997). With ST emphasized as one of the proper perspectives in viewing family as a pool of resources, when family members are collectivists, pro-organizational and trustworthy (Davis et al., 1997), family ties and endurance characteristics evident among the Karamojong gives a basis on which ST is suitable for the current study. Besides that, individuals working in very controlling environments, often demonstrate withdrawal behaviors (Davis et al., 1997), additionally, when not involved or trusted to be responsible for some decision-making they are likely to engage in anti-organizational behaviors (Argyris, 1964) and to act antagonistically (Davis et al., 1997). Thus, the stewardship theory was deemed fit as a basis for the current study. The ecological system approach states that no one can thoroughly be studied in isolation (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). Moreover, a family was defined as a system (Aronoff & Ward, 1995). So understanding the Karamojong family system in its immediate surroundings, the peer and family member stewardship further galvanized the choice of the stewardship theory for this study.

So, from the perspective of the family, the stewardship theory predicts that involvement-oriented environments tend to encourage pro-organizational behaviors that are aimed at maximizing firm performance (Corbetta & Salvato, 2004). Several scholars have mentioned the stewardship theory as being particularly applicable to the realm of family and family firms (e.g., Corbetta & Salvato, 2004), commonly referred in the ST is altruism. In particular, “altruism is expected to reinforce family members' interdependence and to encourage them to place the firm's objectives ahead of their own” (Zahra, 2003). Altruistic families are characterized by collectivistic orientations that encourage family members to exercise self-restraint (Corbetta & Salvato, 2004; Kellermanns and Eddleston, 2004); altruism is said to explain why some family members can successfully work together, while other family members are laden with animosity that deteriorates performance (Kellermanns & Eddleston 2004; Zahra 2003).

Additionally, a collective-serving-man ideology embedded in a stewardship philosophy has been argued to be common among successful family businesses (Corbetta & Salvato, 2004). Moreover, the stewardship philosophy creates a sense of psychological ownership that motivates the family to behave in the best interest of the firm (Corbetta & Salvato, 2004; Zahra, 2003). Regarding environmental challenges, involvement enhances family members' psychological ownership, which promotes “appreciation of the challenges facing the firm as well as resources

and capabilities” (Zahra, 2003, p. 500). Hence distinct ST perspectives such as; Altruism, collective orientation, the involvement of family, and new perspectives may be at play within the nomadic Karamojong family spheres. Some of which may augment the earlier ST popular perspectives or contrast perspectives could manifest. The bottom line is that ST perspectives of family cohesion, endurance, trust, joint authority, and patient finance in the current study will enrich the ST diversity. Although culture is not the main focus of this study, culture’s implications on the study’s variables necessitated its précis, especially in line with collectivism.

Empirical literature on Culture

Culture is the collective programming of the human mind that distinguishes the members of one human group from those of another; culture, in this sense, is a system of collectively held values. (Hofstede, 1991). According to Hofstede, the core dimensions to measure culture include power-distance, collectivism vs. individualism, femininity vs. masculinity, uncertainty avoidance, and long- vs. short-term orientation (Hofstede, 1991). Culture consists of a standard set of behavior patterns that are transmitted and maintained by the members of a particular society (Arnold & Thompson, 2005). Culture involves traditions that advance into values over time. Cultural values have been equated to the vehicles which carry culturally-determined knowledge from one generation to another (Mourali, Laroche, & Pons, 2006); there is hardly any aspect of life that cultural values do not affect. The cultural value system includes cultural elements that people have in common with a given group and personal values unique to the individuals in the group (Luna & Gupta, 2001). Societal culture, regional subculture, and familial values, mainly from an individual's cultural values; from the beginning of an individual's existence, he/she experiences the benefits and restrictions of a particular culture (Nayeem, 2012). Thus, the Karamojong cultural values on family cohesion, endurance as well as patient resources, especially given a general perception that nomadic societies provide unique individual attributes perhaps, as noted by Matthysen et al. (2010). Are these particular nomadic culture embedded in collectivism?

Nomadic Culture

Nomadism, sometimes used interchangeably with the term pastoralism, reflects a lifestyle based upon the maintenance of herds of animals that depend mainly on natural vegetation for their food (Carr-Hill & Peart 2005). The nomads' ethnic or socioeconomic groups always travel and migrate in large or small groups in search of livelihood within a community or across international boundaries (Carr-Hill & Peart 2005). This dependence, along with migration to water, away from the diseases, and in response to other pressures, determines the seasonal and daily movements of pastoralists (Awogbade, 1991). It is associated with unique cultural tenets given that some family members of the pastoralists’ society stay in their self-made homesteads as the young family members do the livestock caring. Nomadic groups are found in large numbers in at least 20 countries in Africa (Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005). Pastoralists are one of the three nomadic groups. Three categories include the gatherers, itinerant workers, and pastoralists. The focus of this study is on the Karamoja pastoralists based in Uganda. Pastoral Nomads are a classic example and a predominating one of nomadic groups in Africa (Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005). Unlike what is often assumed pastoralist groups are not always the poorest of rural people. It is incorrect to see pastoralists as resistant to change in general, although they may be resistant to specific pressures to change in their culture (Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005). Uniquely, the Nomadic groups constitute a sizeable proportion of the world’s population; their societies usually have long traditions of self-government, with sophisticated institutional structures and exceptionally high

levels of social capital (Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005). Like some other writers have indicated, nomads' are viable people and a valuable national resource (Aminu, 1991). However, to survive successfully in drylands, pastoralists require high levels of individual and social specialization (Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005).

Whereas the pastoralists can be very confident, articulate, and entrepreneurial, with good negotiating and management skills, with a strong sense of dignity and self-respect (Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005), their lack of formal schooling is often seen as a problem (Ezeomah 1991). Nonetheless, scholars argue that they are far from being a mass of drifting unskilled (Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005). This has been termed as the central paradox when discussing the nomadic pastoralist's development issues such as education (Kratli 2000; Carr-hill & Peart 2005). For instance, in East Africa, where the Karamojong nomads belong, pastoralists have been noted to have unique economic challenges (Carr-hill & Peart 2005); their daily lives often require a daily focus on the problem of survival, leaving few financial resources to be invested in their children's education. Besides that, a study in Eritrea indicated that nomads are said to live under rough conditions including poor transport networks, health facilities as well as poor education amenities (Tekeste, Tsehaye & Dagneu, 1998).

Perhaps this explains why most studies on the nomadic societies (such as Awogbade, 1991; Carr-Hill & Peart 2005; Kratli 2000; Tekeste Tsehaye & Dagneu, 1998) have concentrated on the social wellbeing like health and education. Studies have highlighted the specificity of east Africa's Nomadic Society. Most of these studies highlight the existing pastoralist stereotypes such as their way of life means that they are poorly integrated into the National Economy, with their traditions of raiding, pastoralists are perceived to pose a threat to law and order, their "cattle complex" is irrational and the cause of overgrazing and land degradation, their mobility leads to multiple uses of land resources and is inconsistent with principles of private ownership, and due to these issues, there is a tendency for governments to eliminate the pastoralists (See Goldschmidt 1980; Kratli 2000). Besides the downside, there is evidence that unique cultural tenets exist with the nomadic herders.

Nomadic Cultural Tenets and Impetus to the current study

Unique values, beliefs, and behaviors amongst the nomadic pastoralists seem to be propelled by diverse perspectives. Some researchers indicate that the conventional approaches are primarily felt to be unworkable in subsistence pastoral conditions (Gorhan, 1978); others point to the irrelevance of imported western models, which are incompatible with common social, cultural values and practices (Sarone, 1984). A group of scholars termed as "The friends of pastoralism" (As seen in Carr-hill & Peart, 2005) contend that pastoralists should be presented as skillful and rational users of available natural resources; who are struggling to maintain their livelihood in the face of external ignorance and prejudice (Baxter & Hogg 1990, Behnke & Scoones 1993). This formed my impetus to investigate the pastoralists' culture on family cohesion, endurance, and family capital taking on the prior positives highlighted by the so-called friends of pastoralists especially given the perspective that conventional approaches are seen mainly as unworkable in subsistence pastoral. However, it is worth noting that nomads are viewed as problematic (Woldemicheal and Woldu, 1995; Kratli, 2000; Mohamed, 1993, 2000).

Collectivism as a precursor to family cohesion

The majority of the cultural theoretical and empirical works primarily in the early 1980s and 1990s focused on the individualism vs. collectivism debate. However, arguments that surpass renowned culture researcher's perspectives have recently emanated. For instance, Hofstede's empirical works (1980, 1983, 1984, & 2001) established that the United States, Australia, the United Kingdom (UK) and other Western countries clustered toward the individualist end of the continuum, whilst India, Pakistan, Thailand, Hong Kong, China and other Asian countries clustered toward the collectivist end (Hofstede, 2001). However, this is often refuted, McSweeney (2002) critiqued Hofstede categorization and suggested that alternative conceptions of culture should consider multiple, non-national influencing factors. Moreover, recently, the alternative views have suggested that Easterners and Westerners do not necessarily differ from one another in these collectivism and individualism spheres (Nayeem, 2012). Besides that, there is a lack of harmony on cultural alternatives applicable across different parts of the world. Additionally, most of the cultural studies concentrated on consumer behavior and marketing research spheres (Henry 1976, Hofstede's work (1980, 1983, 1984, & 2001; Nayeem, 2012). Generally, it was indicated that culture might act as an intention inhibitor (Henry, 1976). Thus, the unending controversies and relevance on culture amidst lacking empirical studies especially in sub-Saharan Africa motivated the current study's brief stretch beyond the contradicting collectivism culture works, to focus on mainly on cultural attributes or values embedded in family cohesion, endurance, and patient or impatient family resources conjectured to be peculiar to the nomadic Karamojong society.

Family Cohesion and Culture

Although traces of family cohesion implicitly manifest in the diverse Hofstede's collectivism works, according to Hofstede (2001), every national population shares a national culture. McSweeney (2002) critiqued Hofstede's model of national cultural differences and suggested that alternative conceptions of culture should consider multiple, non-national influencing factors. Amidst ever-increasing lack of harmony in the culture literature, the African cultural context appears not to be mentioned at all, perhaps due to the diverse cultural setups. Though scarcely studied, different African societies such as the nomads, in this case, the Karamojong, may reveal unique attributes on family cohesion and other related variables, supporting the thesis of national culture, as mentioned by Hofstede (2001).

Family cohesion studies are widely examined through the lens of marriage in advanced economies. Family cohesion is a major dimension of Olson's Circumplex Model of family functioning (Olson et al., 1979; Olson, 1999). This model has widely been cited in family cohesion studies. Noticeable family and marriage researchers define family cohesion as the emotional bonding that exists between family members (Olson, Russell, & Sprenkle, 1983). Additionally, research findings reveal that family cohesion varies with the family life cycle stages;

“in the early marriage stage family cohesion is the highest and remains fairly high while children are very young, as the children develop into adolescents many families experience lower family cohesion” (Olson et al. 1983).

However, most of these studies were executed in developed nations.

Besides the concentration of family cohesion studies in developed economies, other numerous family cohesion researches dwell on enterprise domains. In such studies, high cohesion is linked to the family's capability to distinctly maintain boundaries between family and business (Rosenblatt, 1985). The strong bonds, trust, sense of loyalty and responsibility, which scope in the stewardship theory, are associated with altruism (Kepner, 1991). A Scottish family enterprise study by Dunn (1995), revealed that good family relationships were the only one criterion for a successful family enterprise. Lack of altruism can lead to the pursuit of individual goals with little regard for the standard utility (Gersick et al., 1997). In firms, family bonds continue to be cherished. For instance, it was revealed that high performing family firms encourage participation and regularly share their goals and strategies with employees (Upton et al., 2001). Research also suggests that a lack of altruism may endanger the family bond and hamper decision-making and communication within the family firm (Gersick et al., 1997; Lubatkin et al., 2005).

Additionally, at the top management level, cohesive top management teams experience the least amount of relationship conflict (Ensley & Pearce, 2001), such cohesive teams are more trusting (Eddleston & Kellermanns, 2007), less suspicious and have cooperative group norms (Ensley et al., 2002). A participative strategy process, on the other hand, is seen as an integrative device that allows individuals to understand better where their organization is headed and can reduce individual biases (Ketokivi and Castaner, 2004). Furthermore, recent studies have highlighted the significant association between family cohesion and firm performance. It was noted that lack of participation orientations in organizations ultimately hurts firm performance (Cabrera-Suarez et al., 2001); yet face-to-face communication settings lead to less tension among family members (Ibrahim et al., 2001). More so, Ding & Lee, (2008) labeled family cohesion as the invisible hand behind the crucial decisions of family firms. Nonetheless, other dimensions of family cohesion that may complicate the decision making involve boundaries, coalitions, and friendship among others (Vozikis, Weaver, & Liguori, 2013); the majority of respondents in a qualitative study on individuals from ten Greek family firms indicated that family cohesion meant family harmony and that family cohesion constituted the main factor contributing to family business development (Vozikis et al., 2013). This is consistent with earlier findings that revealed that low levels of family cohesion were related to a higher risk of psychological distress (Cohen & Willis, 1985; Dean & Lin, 1977).

A handful of family cohesion studies exist, but most have been carried out in entirely different economic and cultural contexts of the sub-Saharan Africa settings. In the scope of developing economies, mostly, family cohesion literature appears inclined to the Latino families. The Latino family bearings may heavily contrast with the sub-Saharan Africa family orientations, especially in the angle of nomadic family spheres. Nonetheless, it was revealed that cohesion had a protective factor against external stressors in Latino families (Hovey & King, 1996), additionally, the same study indicated that the Latino families exhibited close-knit relations, a shared a sense of loyalty, reciprocity, and solidarity among its members. It was also noted that, the perceived social support from families is related to lower levels of psychological distress among Latino groups (Rivera, 2007; Vega, Kolody, Valle, & Weir, 1991).

However, a recent study by Rivera, Guarnaccia, Mulvaney-Day, Lin, Torres, and Alegria, (2008) also on the Latino families, explicitly focusing on Cuban, Puerto Rican, Mexican or Other

Latino, revealed that Cubans stood out. The Cuban family cohesion appeared to function differently from other nationals. Cubans had higher levels of cohesion associated with increased psychological distress. Additionally, the same study amplified empirical evidence of the notion that strong emotional bonds measured by family cohesion promote family support and lower psychological distress (Rivera et al., 2008). These Filipino researches may hardly relay the Karamojong nomadic family dynamics. Moreover, contrasting family cohesion findings in other societal settings, in firms, and in developed countries, spheres prevail. More so, family cohesion linkages to constructs such as collective effort, low psychological distress, supportiveness, participation as well as family member usefulness manifest mostly from marriages and through lenses of family businesses in advanced social, economic settings. Therefore, with the family system perspective awe in family literature, more family cohesion research in developing social, economic settings, in this case, among Karamojong nomadic settings, will advance family cohesion knowledge. Thus:

Proposition 1: Nomadic cultural settings are more likely to influence family cohesion.

Endurance and Culture

Endurance is synonymous with resilience. A handful of research studies present results on resilience and most of these studies link resilience to tapping on family dynamics in hostile conditions. Resilience, like any other social attribute, was mainly scrutinized in family spheres. Resilience or capacity to endure may explain why family firms tend to generate turnaround strategies for ensuring the survival of the company during difficulty (Cater & Schwab, 2008). Similarly, family firms were noted as vigilant in scanning for threats from their competition through shared mental models (Kellermanns & Barnett, 2008). Besides, family firms, in general, have been credited to possess a capacity to function in both favorable and adverse economic conditions (Levie & Lerner, 2009). Peculiarly, Van Wyk, (2012) highlighted that family firms seem to have a unique capacity for re-kindling their existence in hard times; these firms hold strategic coordination capabilities for long-term social relationships and picking knowledge from external expertise. Similarly, it was revealed that family members in highly cohesive families tend to unite in times of distress (Vozikis et al., 2013).

Though pegged mainly on the developed economies, and in the sphere of the family business, contrasting views in the literature exist on family attachments and resilience. Family involvement as a double-edged sword, where on one edge, the family is depicted as a source of strength and the other edge, family as a cause of the family firm's demise (Eddleston & Kellermanns, 2007). Hence motivates more inquiries on individual family member endurance. Moreover, research findings on nomadic settings and their own dynamics on endurance are mostly unavailable, more so, in the non-family business sphere. Thus,

Proposition 2: Nomadic settings are more likely to influence individual endurance

Family Capital and Culture

In the realm of family literature, low agency costs, relational bonds as well as altruism indicated as strong gains that families bring as family capital. In particular to firms, family-firm owner's long-term orientation and long-term investments (Dreux, 1990) lead to fewer capital costs (Aronoff & Ward, 1995). Although family patient capital appears to have limited empirical studies, some theoretical and empirical studies exist on personal family resources, unlike the well

documented financial capital and the relatively studied social capital, intellectual and relational capital, the family capital sphere is a relatively new form of capital. Unsurprisingly, the newness is associated with contradicting views and findings.

That notwithstanding, family capital - which is examined mainly in the family firms, is often equated to familiness. According to Habbershon, Williams, and MacMillan, (2003) and Sirmon and Hitt, (2003), familiness is the bundle of resources and capabilities possessed due to family involvement. Family resources, defined mainly in the scope of firms, are highlighted as unique and intangible things the family unit brings into firms (Simon & Hitt 2003). For instance, Anderson and Reeb (2003) found evidence that family ownership was associated with the lower agency cost of servicing debt. The study, which was based on 252 industrial firms, indicated that debt financing costs for family firms were about 32 basis points lower than for nonfamily firms (Anderson and Reeb 2003). It is assumed that familiness is created by the interactions between the founder, family members, generations of the family, as well as business (Venter & Kruger, 2004), and consists of capital factors of a human, social, and financial nature (Danes et al., 2009).

On the other hand, the familiness construct is often belittled as an amorphous and umbrella construct (Van Wyk 2012), hence branded as a double-edged sword, with a definite edge (i.e., distinctive familiness) and a negative edge (i.e., constrictive familiness). Predominantly, distinctive familiness was mentioned as the force that significantly improves family firms (Habbershon et al., 2003; Chrisman et al. 2005). In the same philosophy, family firm owners tend to primarily focus on long-term investment outcomes (Zahra & Sharma, 2004). Unlike non-family firms, the family's long-term focus as well as the pool of resources, which is often derived from the family effect (Gibb, 2006), is conceptualized as, family capital (Hoffman, Hoelscher, & Sorenson, 2006). Though scarcely investigated, familiness negatives emanate from deep family involvement. For instance, Gibb (2006) contended that other family involvements could be a liability.

With most studies inclined mainly on the positives of family involvement, no wonder most family-firm-performance generalizations incline heavily to family positive effects. Zellweger (2007), for instance, highlighted that family firms have a longer-term horizon than nonfamily firms, and that family firms, unlike other firms, can function in adverse economic conditions (Levie and Lerner, 2009). Additionally, family in firms leads to rare gains (Maury, 2006), primarily through the personal resources and capabilities (Irava & Moores, 2010), such advantages emphasized under the resource based view of the firm's competitiveness. Indeed, family ownership and firm operation were linked to reducing agency costs (Jabeen & Shah, 2011). However, what remains faintly conveyed is the patient family capital.

Patient Family Capital

Patient capital is perceived as capital that has a long-term horizon and greater risk tolerance (Harrison, Botelho, and Mason, 2016; Kahler, 1998; Kaplan, 2018). Patient capital financiers typically stay with their investments through good times and bad. There are a variety of patient capital investors, ranging from individuals (i.e. parents invest in their children's education) and firms (i.e. venture capitalists invest in innovative ideas), to non-profit institutions (i.e. social entrepreneurs invest in societal value, or social returns) and countries - i.e. state banks investing in technology acquisition for promising firms (Kaplan 2018; Harrison et al. 2016). In line with

economies, patient capital can have more beneficial effects because it tends to be better aligned with country's long-term development goals (Kahler, 1998). In the current study the focus is on the individual and family patient capital.

Although patient capital is widely studied in the capital markets, the concept has equally been examined in the family resource sphere. In particular, capital contains resources. Resources are defined as a set of assets and attributes (Barney, 1991). Important to note is that intangibility and tangibility are emphasized in resource literature, especially in family entities. Uniquely, family firms are mostly characterized by intangible resources (Simon & Hitt, 2003); perhaps this explains why intangible resources associated with the family business system have been preferred research focus areas. The intangible resources of family firms appear to be quite distinctive (Chrisman et al., 2005; Sirmon & Hitt, 2003). Thus, more than the physical assets, the essential attributes embed in adults at family and society level may influence the size of the family capital. Although many family firms invest in patient capital (Miller & Le Breton-Miller, 2005), the research findings on family patient capital in most economies in developing status is lacking.

On the other hand, capabilities are highlighted as part of the resources studied in the business entity sphere. Capabilities refer to a particular type of resources that are organizationally embedded and nontransferable, whose purpose is to improve the productivity of other resources (Duh, 2010). Resources often emanating from the close interaction between the family and the firm contribute significantly to family firm performance. Although few studies have dealt with the issue of patient capital (Charles, 2014), as noted earlier, the patient capital has high level of risk tolerance in good and bad times (Kaplan, 2018). From a family firms investment study of the Japanese electric machinery industry, Asaba (2013) highlighted that family firms were more patient in making their investment than nonfamily firms.

As earlier noted, other researchers have also emphasized that family resources, in particular, have not been sufficiently studied and tested in different contexts (Charles, 2014). It is also noted that empirical research has embarked on assessing the influence of specific characteristics and resources of family firms on performance (Charles, 2014). Although family patient resources contribute significantly to the performance of firms (Charles, 2014), through a long-term horizon and a desire for continuity, the continued lack of consensus on family effects on firms as well as contrasting views on family cohesion leads to a limited understanding on the patient family capital. Therefore, empirical results on patient family capital in the Karamojong society spheres are necessary. Moreover, in developing economies, a family is seen as a crucial source of resources. Family orientation literature suggests that family involvement leads to patient strategies (Carney, 2005). Similarly, Habbershon (2006) revealed that families might serve as a capital-pooling device in countries where it is difficult to raise large amounts of money for startup firms. Hence, the current study is inclined to the nomadic social dynamics and patient capital beyond prior studies that largely zero on the family business in advanced economic spheres.

Regarding impatience family capital, family involvement is often noted to usher nullities. The family effect may adversely affect resources; hence impatient resources may not be ruled out. Moreover, familial relations are prone to psychodynamic effects, including; sibling rivalry,

children's desire to differentiate themselves from their parents, marital discord, and ownership dispersion among family members, among other issues (Gibb, 1994; Schulze et al., 2003). So, impatience regarding capital resources may result. In particular, the impatient family capital may be more pronounced in developing economies that are marred mainly by formal institutional voids (Kistruck et al. 2015). Thus, the following proposition:

Proposition 3: Nomadic settings are more likely to influence [im] patient family capital.

Methodology and Design

Research is reflexive, an organic process enriched by researchers increasing depth of knowledge as they investigate the area (Finlay, 2003). In particular, qualitative paradigms offer the researcher an opportunity to develop an ideographical understanding of the participant's experiences and what it means to them within their social reality in a particular situation (Bryman, 1992). Qualitative research facilitates our understanding of some of the complexity of bio-psycho-social phenomena (Biggerstaff, 2012), this is a basis upon which the understanding on family cohesion, patient assets, and endurance were inquired in this research. Reflexion is core in qualitative inquiry (Banister et al., 2011; Frost, 2011). Reflexions on the given research are examined retrospectively to ensure the research objectives are fulfilled (Biggerstaff, 2012). A practical definition of qualitative research hinges on methods that use a language other than numbers and interpretive naturalistic approach (Biggerstaff, 2012). Qualitative research embraces the concept of intersubjective, i.e., how people may agree or construct meaning in order to interpret the social world they inhabit (Nerlich, 2004); in this study, the social world is the nomadic orientations of Karamojong setting.

Population and Sampling Procedures

In this study, elders, youths, and women were picked as informants. Four members were picked for each category. The study area for this research was the Karamoja area, particularly in the Moroto district, which is in Northeastern Uganda. The informants were selected using the purposeful sampling technique. Purposeful sampling is a technique widely used in qualitative research for the identification and selection of information-rich cases for the most effective use of limited resources (Patton, 2002). The technique involves the identification and selection of individuals or groups of individuals that are especially knowledgeable about or experienced with a phenomenon of interest (Cresswell & Plano Clark, 2011). The research assistant with guidance identified the knowledgeable and experienced elders, women, and youth. The informants were picked after each of them was requested to participate in this study voluntarily. The study participants represented a wide range of family categories, such as male youths, female youths, women, and representatives of the college of elders.

Data Collection

This research used focused groups (FG). FG is one of the data sources under qualitative research (Biggerstaff, 2012). It was noted that the FG data source method tends to be associated with group dynamics (Ali & Kelly, 2012). To avoid group thinking and dominating participants, each participant was requested to respond to given insights or meaning(s) fronted. Given the cultural orientation of respect for the elders, the researcher assisted by the research assistant encouraged a diversity of elders insights hence pushed all the elders to feel free to air out their experiences and

meanings of the a discussion variables. The focus group members who tended not give more insights were intelligently interrogated and progressive encouraged to offer insights. The interview protocol guided the group discussions.

To guide the focus group discussions, the data collection protocol had a reasonably open-ended format aimed at gathering as much qualitative data with regards to the family cohesion, endurance, and family [im] patient capital of those Karamoja family dynamics. With the phenomenological line of social sciences approach, a more in-depth understanding of family cohesion, endurance, and patient family capital in the Karamoja region, was sought from the respondents. Family cohesion and patient family capital were earlier deduced from existing literature, and therefore, respective parameters highlighted in the interview guide, this scoping aided the probing. However, an inductive approach to study variable – endurance, was utilized. Given that some respondents, especially some youth and women, were not able to express their opinions vehemently in the English Language, the Ng’Karamojong language, which is a Nilo-Saharan language, was used. The English language interpreter, who holds a graduate qualification, was first trained on the usage interview protocol, as well as the probing techniques. Field notes have often been recommended as an *aide memoir*; they provide ‘backup’ (Biggerstaff, 2012). So, field notes were captured, they also provided verification benefits and enabled a coherent interrogation process. This is fundamental in obtaining high quality raw data before analysis, as highlighted by Biggerstaff, (2012).

The social demographic characteristics, i.e., gender categorization, age group data, were collected. The audio recorder was set in record mode, and this was done after informing the informants that all the discussions would be recorded.

Finally, from the ten Karamojong society members who constituted the cases in the FGDs we obtained data explaining the reasoning and perspectives of family cohesion, endurance and family [im] patient capital of those Karamoja family dynamics The time the tenth informant was interviewed most of responses on the reasoning and perspectives were similar and therefore we detected the point of saturation had been reached. This gave enough ground to stop at the tenth respondent. Existing literature on qualitative research emphasizes that there is no need to continue interviews if the point of saturation is reached (Biggerstaff, 2012). Although no agreed minimum of cases exists in qualitative research, interviews yield more data in a small number of language instances (Biggerstaff, 2012). However, the emphasis is placed on the precision of interviews and the probing capacities.

Complimentary Data

One of the strong points of qualitative research is the use of complementary data sources (Biggerstaff 2012). In this case, additional data were obtained from the Karamoja data center (a nursling museum). Richer data or what is known as think description (Biggerstaff 2012; Walsh 2012), is crucial in research. Moreover, more than one viewpoint increases diversity, thus extending the understanding of the research topic (Banister et al. 2011).

Qualitative Methods

In qualitative research, it is acknowledged that the researcher is an integral part of the process. The researcher may reflect on her/ his own influence (Willig, 2008) and experience in the

research process (Biggerstaff, 2012), the researcher's decisions form a foundation of qualitative research. Qualitative methods have much to offer when we need to explore people's feelings experiences (Biggerstaff, 2012). Knowledge about people is enhanced by our understanding of the individual 'case' (Mary & Parry 2011; Radley & Chamberlain 2001; Smith 1998). In this case major Karamojong society members understanding on the family cohesion, endurance, and patient assets were derived. Whereas the realistic, contextual or constructionists are the epistemological positions that shape our assumptions (King & Horrocks 2012). Robsons (2011) advocates adopting a pragmatic approach to qualitative research. Pragmatism is said to be an anti-philosophical philosophy that advocates getting on with research rather than philosophizing to the stultifying over concern and epistemology (Robson, 2011). In this research, the pragmatism angle was taken, thus, the importance of researching and studying people in a natural a way as much as possible was emphasized.

Data storage, Transcription, and Analysis

Data was saved after each informant's recording. This was transferred to the flash disk then given to the research assistants to transcribe. The transcribed data was coded using the NVIVO qualitative research data analysis application.

Data Analysis

Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) and thematic analysis (TA) were used in this research.

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

Phenomenological researchers help to make the implicit 'the things we take for granted' in our lives explicit (Giorgi, 2010). IPA, according to Biggerstaff (2012) is one of the qualitative research methods. This justification explains the preference of IPA over the other methods, especially while handling in-depth interviews within the FGDs. It is evident that IPA was specially developed by Jonathan Smith (Smith et al., 1995), to rigorously explore idiographic, subjective experiences and, specifically, social cognitions. Additionally, many have popularized the goodness of IPA, for example Duncan et al. (2001); French et al. (2005); Thompson et al. (2002). Phenomenology places the experience of the self at the center of the current dialogue about people's lived experiences and their meanings (Cohen & Omery, 1994; Giorgi, 2010; Smith et al. 1995; Spinneli 2005). In IPA, the qualitative researcher is aiming to see and understand what surrounds us (Cohen & Omery, 1994). So, the purposively selected elders, youth, and women were expected to offer their lived experiences and meanings in line with family cohesion, endurance, and patient capital in nomadic settings in Uganda. Thus, usage of IPA enabled the engagement with the Karamojong texts interpretation. IPA also draws a Gamer's philosophy of hermeneutics and the study of the understanding of the text (Smith, 2007). IPA is a qualitative methodology with a clearly set out methodology that is both rigorous and yet sufficiently flexible fit for a wide range of types of study (Biggerstaff & Thompson, 2008; Smith, & Osborn, 2008; Wilig, 2008). So meanings on family cohesion, endurance, and patient capital were uncovered, developed, and existing writings on these elements were verified. IPA has increasingly become a popular approach and a method that is idiographic, inductive, and interrogative (Smith 2007). The main aim of IPA is to provide insight into the heart of informants' lived experiences (Biggerstaff & Thompson, 2008; Pringle et al.; 2010). Thus, IPA

was crucial in illuminating insight and meanings of the study themes in the Karamojong terrain. Thematic Analysis (TA) complimented the IPA.

Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis (TA), also known as the conceptual analysis, is one of the qualitative methods under qualitative research (Biggerstaff, 2012). TA is particularly useful for conceptual or thematic analysis or relational analysis (Biggerstaff, 2012). TA is useful when the researcher wishes to summarize and categorize themes encountered in data collection (Biggerstaff, 2012). Although the thematic analysis method is considered too limited, especially for in-depth interviews (Biggerstaff 2012), its strength was utilized in the quantification of the summaries especially given that exploratory terrain was the premise upon which this study was hinged upon. However, the prior studies on family cohesion, endurance, and patient assets also guided the thematic categorization. The quantification capacity and summary advantage of thematic analysis was useful in picturing the major manifestations of the study variables, but rigorous text analysis was conducted on the IPA requirements.

Ethical Matters

Before collecting data, the purposively selected Karamojong society members were requested to participate voluntarily in this study. Additionally, each participant was assured on the confidentiality of their data. They were informed that this research was aiming at exploring insights on family cohesion, patient capital, and endurance thematic areas in order to deeply understand the elements, especially in the nomadic orientation terrain.

The respective socio-demographics which were presumed to be identifying features were presented separately from the respondent's respective data. Such steps are recommended in qualitative research (Flick, 2007).

Validity and Reliability

Using the analyzed data selected participants. From each category, i.e., the women, elders, and youth, were used to verify and comment on the draft research findings. These additional participants from Karamoja gave proof that the data gathered was valid, and they offered more insights. The essence of reliability for qualitative research lies with consistency (Carcary, 2009). So, as data were extracted from the original sources, the accuracy was verified in terms of form and context as recommended by (George & Apter, 2004). Further more, the research findings were also presented in an East African academic conference in Entebbe, Uganda in 2019; the comments received were incorporated. Given that the qualitative research is not separate from the research process (Biggerstaff 2012), thus, the researcher was pivotal in aligning elements of family cohesion, endurance, and patient assets as well as taking an interrogative role in the research inquiry. According to Willig (2008), the qualitative researcher usually acknowledges his role in the research process. Given that most of the data was in the Ng'Karamojong language, the research assistant was instrumentally utilized in data collection, data transcription, and draft findings validity. The Ng'Karamojong collected data was translated into English. On the whole, thematic analysis was applied. The themes and codes of the study are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Code and Themes

Codes		Theme
Character		Endurance
Inheritance preference		
Supportiveness		Family Cohesion
Social Protection		
Usefulness		
Tangible (Cows, Land, Homesteads)	Assets	Patient Family Capital
Intangible (information, knowledge)		
Other Resources (artifacts)		

Source: primary data

Findings and Interpretation

The total expected informants were twelve adult Karamojong. These constituted three groups (i.e., the elders' group, the women group, and the youth group). Each group was expected to be comprised of four members. However, one elder and one woman did not join the discussions. As a result, ten adult Karamojongs were core respondents in the current study, giving a response rate of 83 percent. The socio-demographic characteristics of these respondents are shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Social Demographic Characteristics

Sex category	Age bracket	Designation	Children	Marriage Partner	Animals cows/goats	Education level
M	60-69	Elder	11	1	1	Bachelor Deg
M	60-69	Elder	11	1	10	Bachelor Deg
M	60-69	Elder	10	2	30	Primary Four
F	30-39	Woman	2	1	1	Bachelor Deg.
F	40-49	Woman	1	1	2	Bachelor Deg
M	30-39	Youth	5	2	4	Diploma
M	30-39	Youth	1	1	28	Bachelor Deg
M	20-29	Youth	0	0	3	Primary
M	30-39	Youth	0	0	0	Post Grad Dip
F	40-49	Woman	1	0	5	Bachelor Deg.

Source: primary data

Regarding social demographic characteristics, exceptional characteristics manifested, as shown in Table 2. For instance, the elders in this study had many children; the minimum was ten children. Well, in today's world this appears outstanding; the double-digit children are relatively large family size, especially if compared with other regions of the world, such as the Eastern part of the world and Europe, where three children, for instance, are considered very many. Besides that, more than one marriage partner who is not only evident with the elders but also with middle-aged male respondents stands out, especially when compared with the universal norm of one husband-one- wife, save for the Islam family. We find that Karamojong believes in having numbers of children for some reason, i.e., for labor and dowry payments; the more children, the more the labor for accomplishing tasks like the garden work and taking care of cows among

others. Additionally, the more, the more animals expected to come to the family when the girls are married similarly.

Another elder highlighted that:

“Children bring animals to family, i.e., Girls - through dowry and boys – look after the cows. Social security and protection – children are taken as a family army; hence no tampering by the enemy and during problems and general need of protection-they are a source of labor.”

However, the same respondent was bitter with current human rights initiatives, indicating that: “Having many children and engaging children in work is being stopped by Human Rights initiatives.”

Regarding animal numbers, it was discovered that elders mostly tend to abjure sharing the exact information on numbers of animals owned, most especially the cows. Nonetheless, we found that there was a disproportion of the number of animals owned and the respondent’s age progression. From, these findings it is clear that the more children in the family, the more advantages, especially in terms of livestock caring; hence development agencies ought to take this in consideration as they advance development initiatives in such nomadic settings. The following section provides findings on family cohesion, endurance, and patient family capital in the Karamoja societal landscape.

Findings on Family Cohesion

A core finding is that the Karamojong society is pivoted on the family. A typical Karamojong family comprises of parents, father, relatives, wives, children (with clear demarcations of a boy’s role and a girl’s role in society emphasized). Whereas respondents frequently mentioned the father’s family element in the singular form, wives were commonly mentioned in plural form across the respondents, which justifies why a typical Karamojong family is mostly termed as polygamous. However, there is evidence of extendedness in a typical Karamojong family.

This study’s central finding is that families collect into a clan; a typical Karamojong family is enormous and intense. The individual family units from the nucleus level (without leaving out the polygamous-ness), create rare intrafamilial relations (horizontalization) and inter-generational family relations (verticalization). The collections of all the family units which are in their traditional architecture (well-guarded huts) in organized homesteads accommodate over 200 family individuals. These large families are most often termed as a clan.

So, the enormous collection of families into clans and family extendedness are two different significant aspects that may affect family cohesion. Hence, assuming that prior family cohesion empirical results that were based mainly exclusively on nucleus families and hinged mainly on monogamous families match the Karamojong family dynamics is probably erroneous. This special Karamojong family extendedness and clan-based cohesion dynamics amplify more profound family cohesion knowledge. Additional Karamojong family cohesion insights derived from the respondents are blended in the following section. In particular, family cohesion aspects regarding supportiveness, social protection, usefulness, and togetherness are revealed, as well as the deep-rooted cultural beliefs and traditions bolstering the Karamojong family cohesion in the present world. Generally, it was revealed in the Karamojong all what brings intra-familial

concern is being united, and that if someone makes a mistake, there is a procedure to handle the matter.

Mainly, it was revealed that the cultural traditions and beliefs play a significant role in matters regarding family cohesion; if something happens to the Karamojong society, they customarily inquire from the forefathers and foremother. Outstandingly, one of the elders actually highlighted that the elders act as the communication 'server' to gods:

"... the Karamojong believe that under their African traditional religion, they speak to their gods through the elders."

Moreover, there is a belief that through the prayers by elder, the Karamojong society benefits:

"these prayers are mighty. You may not believe me; even in the last two weeks, some Karamojong women came praying for rain, and their prayer was answered."

The same respondent vividly indicated that the Karamojong elders play a crucial role in promoting social wellbeing and that cohesiveness is identical to a normal Karamojong society.

What is interpreted from these findings is that there is a strong belief in the supernatural being and that the elders do most of the communication through prayers to their God. Elders are thus heavily respected in the typical Karamojong nomadic settings, thus elders are crucial in the angle of family cohesion galvanization.

Additionally, most of the respondents revealed that cultural traditions and beliefs enhance cohesion through social support and protection. A respondent indicated that:

"The Karamojong believe in one-another and for any social support, social protection and the healing from any disease."

One of the youth respondents also added that the traditions that enhance family cohesion emanate from the communal upbringing, as narrated below:

"Karamojongs grow up from the communal kind of sharing lifestyle, for example, sharing of food and drinking local alcohol."

This is in line with what most respondents mentioned regarding matters of traditional initiations, which cut across the Karamojong; youth, women, and elders that concretize family cohesion. Outstandingly, during our focus group discussion with the elders, one of the elders boasted of the Karamojong's practical cohesiveness, attributed this to Karamojong's social settings. He revealed that:

"Cohesiveness of the Karamojong is practical in the way that you look at their social setting, their structures like the villages. You will find that most Karamojongs stay together - a village of about 200 people staying together and the reason being that they have almost everything."

Another elder in the same focus group discussion added on the practicality of the Karamojong cohesiveness by elucidating the following:

"they [Karamojong] share ideas, they share resources, and they share problems. That is why you find Karamojong settings in the villages; it is very rare to get a Karamojong villager alone, and if you find a Karamojong villager being alone, they always put a question mark that this person is not a normal person either he is being egocentric or outcast. So that is why the cohesiveness of the Karamojong is explained practically."

In particular to 'sharing' which is one of the attributes of family cohesion, cultural traditions are argued to enhance the sharing philosophy among the typical Karamojong family. For instance, in a youth focus group, sharing was revealed as a historical tradition and that in the past the

Karamojongs had a belief that if someone gives you something honestly you have to receive it and give back in future. Exclusively, regarding sharing in the family, a female respondent indicated that: Karamojongs still share at the family level and never want the family members to suffer. This respondent also had this to say on competition amongst the Karamojongs:

“... they do not see competition as beneficial, it is discouraged outrightly.”

Other youth respondents also affirmed that there is an aspect of sharing in the Karamojong society.

Another attribute of family cohesion that was evident in the Karamojong family was ‘supportiveness’, especially during marriages and through the family roles undertaken by fathers and mothers. What is interpreted here is that, on marriage, which is a core part of a family, the Karamojong support one another, and it is presumed that marriage is a social responsibility. Contributions are made from the whole clan for the marriage. One of the Karamojong elders indicated that marriage support is a clan focus. He highlighted that:

“When a person is marrying, we give support by collectively paying dowry.”

On the side of the family supportive roles, most of the Karamojong fathers are committed to family success by taking responsibilities as parents. In the same vein, one of the elders highlighted that:

“For a Karamojong, if they find a child or even an old woman in a problem, they always try to help.”

Uniquely what is evident here is another strong attribute of family cohesion in the Karamojong family was protection of one-another, as well as a general Karamojong society fortification. From the elder focus group discussion, the Karamojong cohesiveness was mentioned to hold capabilities to detect calamity, adding that Karamojong is creative in their way. Additionally, the Karamojong believe in their strong networks. On the other hand, civilization was mentioned to affect the Karamojong cohesiveness. Some elders indicated that, with the advancement of formal education and the coming of the Europeans, the Karamojong cohesion is declining. One elder mentioned that members in society are being discouraged from following the Karamojong traditions in general. Although the majority of the respondents especially the elders and the youth highlighted that the nomadic cultural attributes galvanize the family cohesion and elders play a significant role in the solidarity of the large families, it was evident that the Karamojong culture is despised, in favor of the modern traditions. Hence, the acclaimed practical family cohesiveness could be at stake.

Findings on Endurance and Culture

Like family cohesiveness, it was revealed that origins of endurance among the Karamojong society are historical; traced far back to the Karamojong ancestral roots beyond Uganda, the Karamojong trekking to settle amidst the vagaries of hard climatic and wilderness hazards is believed to have filtered hardy Karamojongs who constitutes present-day Karamojong ancestors. Several remarks from the Karamojong elders in line with this historical stimulus and justifications to endurance were highlighted. Some include:

“The origin of all this is that when the Karamojong were migrating from Ethiopia. They were going through other tribes, and they were pushing them by fighting”

“they did not go as individuals.”

“the idea of togetherness was for protection for combating any attack.”

Uniquely, the Karamojong believe in combined endurance; thus, individual competitiveness is shunned among the Karamojong. As alluded in this statement from one of the respondents:

“Competitiveness comes out of the individuality where each individual wants some supremacy over the other. Here you get everything is done together as a community.”

So, there is no individuality there, probably that is why this idea of competitiveness is not among the Karamojong. Besides that, endurance, traditions and sacrifices for the community for instance, in times of calamity in the society as a whole, an individual offers a bull to avert the problem.

The Karamojong always struggle with life. They don't give up even when they lose their animals; they make sure they keep bonded and fight-on as a whole. Inherently, endurance is derived from the kind of perseverance exhibited, especially whenever cattle raids were dominant. Perhaps this justifies why they prefer to move fully prepared, one of the respondents indicate that:

“The Karamojong are self-contained when they come to your home you do not bother giving them where to sleep or to sit.”

However, the Karamojong women apparently indicated more revelations on their endurance, in the women-focused discussions; female respondents highlighted high endurance magnitudes, largely associated to the contexts upon which women live:

“The hardships that you have grown from childhood; there is no soft life with a Karamojong girl, you grow with hardship, you sleep on hard skin, it hardens your character.” So what is clear from the findings is that excessive family member endurance creates positive effects on the Karamojong family capital. Especially given that typical Karamojongs do not believe in individualism but joint working, which is assumed as an indelible asset that will enhance family resources in particular and clan resources in general.

Findings on Patient Family Capital

First of all, tangible and intangible assets manifested amongst the Karamojong family settings. Regarding tangible assets, two peculiar assets were predominant, i.e., the cow, and the land, other tangible assets observed were the refined traditional homesteads, thorn fenced, designed to safe guard cows, goats and sheep, bounded by organized family settlements referred to as *manyatta* in the Ng'Karamojong language. It was also noted that the *manyatta* were positioned according to family generation and elder's hierarchy. Although these homesteads are built of shrubs, thatched by grass and with neat thick thorn fences with human access points with heights not exceeding 1.5 metres and widths approximated to 1metre, it was noted that these typical African constructions have endured adverse arid climatic conditions for decades. This justifies why most tourists are mesmerized by the *manyatta*.

Peculiarly, it was revealed that the cow or cows forms a distinguished Karamojong asset. Uniquely, a cow has several attachments to the Karamojong society. Besides being a major asset, it is a symbol of recognition to take the esteemed communal leadership; it is also a symbol of prestige and respect in society. You can imagine cows are classified among family size and the number of wives. For instance, one of the youth respondents indicated that a typical Karamojong man is of status if he has:

“a large family, enough resources like cows and the wives.”

So, cows drive the Karamojong economy; as a unit of exchange in the Karamojong commerce. One of the elders who is also a member of the admired Karamojong College of elders revealed that transactions in Karamoja are not guided by money but cows; he narrated that:

“If you give a bull you receive a cow in return. The Karamojongs are not interested in money.”

Additionally, in this region the cow appears more valued than money; this finding is in line with the popular anecdotal evidence on Karamojong cattle rustling that is often volatile not only in Uganda but stretches in Kenya and South Sudan as noted in the introduction section of this paper.

Cows were also revealed as a communal asset. One of the senior citizens in Karamoja highlighted that:

“For the Karamojong, the cows belong to the community, like now my cows they are not mine the cows belong to the community.”

Hence, attention needs to be paid on how cows are pegged to community and trust: in this part of the world, it is believed that when the cows have multiplied and, therefore, the person remains loyal and dependable. This trust and community correlations hinged on cows was used to echo the communal success other than individual competitiveness uniqueness of the Karamojong habits over other communities. Pertinent to the Karamojong is the land.

Like the cows as cherished assets, it was revealed that land is fundamental to the Karamojong society. In this society, the land takes two aspects in the eyes of the Karamojong. One of the elders indicated that:

“The Karamojong have both communal land and individual land like gardens, plots in the homestead, among others.”

Another elder indicated that:

“The Karamojong guard land for cultivation, so they have never thought it for any kind like for development, buildings.”

However, matters on decision making regarding land apparently are skewed to the male Karamojongs while the female Karamojongs holds less land rights. One of the female respondents indicated that:

“The land is for man, for women the only access is to dig.”

Additionally, it was found out from the women focus groups that, women rarely make decisions in the Karamojong society, however, during cultural days they come together. Incidentally, the typical Karamojong women abide by the societal land traditions. For instance, a female respondent indicated that:

“For the land, it is according to the clans, from there they will give me.”

Similarly, regarding women asset ownership such as cows, it was revealed that women do not own cows. A female respondent indicated that:

“There is no such a thing as the ‘kraal of a woman,’ so asset accumulation is very small and very little for Karamojong woman.”

What is interpreted here is that a typical Karamojong woman undergoes hardships and a lot of challenges. Although contrasting interests of the wider community segregating the female exists, family is dependent on a woman in Karamoja, yet a Karamojong woman is not supposed to be rebellious but submissive. Thus, there is a fear that the largely celebrated patient capital in form of the land, cows, and homesteads as well as the knowledge base of the male elders, is likely to

be converted in to impatient family capital due to the women less involvement in the decision making and ownership of the huge physical assets.

Discussions, Conclusion, and Implications

The unending controversies and relevance on culture amidst lacking empirical studies especially in sub-Saharan Africa motivated the current study's delve in the contradicting collectivism culture works, to focus on cultural attributes or values embedded in family cohesion, endurance, and patient or impatient family resources conjectured to be peculiar to the nomadic Karamojong society.

Karamojong Family Cohesion

As McSweeney (2002) critiqued Hofstede cultural attributes and suggested that alternative conceptions of culture should consider multiple, non-national influencing factors, the alternative views were suggested that Easterners and Westerners do not necessarily differ from one another on the collectivism and individualism spheres (Nayeem, 2012). Inspired by McSweeney (2002) who suggested that alternative conceptions of culture should consider multiple, non-national influencing factors, this paper revealed unique parameters regarding family cohesion in the Karamojong settings. Whereas nomadic African cultural context is scarcely mentioned in family cohesion literature, Karamojong boast of practical family cohesion. Key Karamojong family cohesion findings: cultural traditions and beliefs on family cohesion, and elders as the core radars of cohesion in Karamoja. As well as practicality in marriages where there is marriage clan support, usefulness through social protection and Karamojong cohesion, these may be at stake due to modernization.

In reference to the cultural traditions and beliefs that encourage Karamojong family cohesion, we see that the stewardship perspectives are enshrined in the Karamojong society, thus altruism, bonds, and solidarity, as emphasized by prior researchers such as Kepner (1991). Moreover, Dunn (1995) revealed that good family relationships were the only criterion for a successful family enterprise. Similarly, the lack of altruism can lead to the pursuit of individual goals with little regard for the collective utility (Gersick et al., 1997). Although elders as the core sensors of cohesion in Karamoja were revealed, scarce literature exists on how elders in society spheres influence family cohesion. However, some business studies such as Ensley and Pearce, (2001) have highlighted that top management teams are characteristic of significant cohesion), such cohesive teams are more trusting (Eddleston & Kellermanns, 2007), but not all team members who are top managers are necessarily elders.

Regarding the practical Karamojong family cohesion, where marriage is supported bt the clan usefulness through societal protection, enriched attributes of family cohesion were obtained. These add to the conventional family cohesion literature, which hinged on marriage (Olson et al., 1979; Olson, 1999; Olson, Russell, & Sprenkle, 1983). However, the peculiarity of the Karamojong clans to do all they can to support marriages stands out. Moreover, the Karamojong

Dynamics seem to contrast with the famous family cohesion perspective that family cohesion varies with the family life cycle stages. Fronted by Olson et al. (1983), it is emphasized that in the early marriage stage, family cohesion is the highest and remains relatively high while children are very young, as the children develop into adolescents many families experience lower

family cohesion. It has been shown that the coherence in the Karamojong family solidifies as the family yields into the clan level, and the higher generations together with the respective elders progressively gain more respect in society. Like the Chinese culture, which is hinged on 'Confucian Values,' Karamojong family cohesion traditions are spectacular. The Chinese society is built around family, social ethics, education, centralized authority, and conformity (Panjwani, Vijay Aggarwal, & Dhameja, 2008); family-centered extended networks support a cultural orientation of relationships or connections called 'Guanxi' which literally means 'relationships.' Thus, the Karamojong family cohesion prides in practical clan based supportiveness and resource sharing.

On the other hand, modernization was mentioned as one of that inhibitors to the cherished practical Karamojong family cohesion, taking the modernization as a culture then Karamojong cohesion may be at risk, since culture may act as an intention inhibitor (Henry, 1976). Hence, the unique Karamojong family bonds that are argued to be built over the years may be lost.

Karamojong Endurance

Although it was revealed that family members in highly cohesive families tend to unite in times of distress (Vozikis et al., 2013), the origins of endurance among the Karamojong society are historical; traced far back to the Karamojong ancestral roots beyond Uganda, the Karamojong trekking to settle amidst the vagaries of hard climatic and wilderness hazards is believed to have filtered hardy Karamojongs. Uniquely, the Karamojong believe in combined endurance. Thus, individual competitiveness is shunned among the Karamojong. Extant endurance literature in family firms has mentioned, the survival of the company during difficulty (Cater & Schwab, 2008), vigilance in scanning for threats (Kellermanns & Barnett, 2008) and capacity to function in both profitable and adverse economic conditions (Levie & Lerner, 2009), as advantages of the family effect. Van Wyk, (2012) argued that family firms seem to have a special capacity for re-kindling their existence in hard times; these firms hold strategic coordination capabilities for long-term social relationships and picking knowledge from external expertise.

Whereas most of the endurance works have hinged on the family firms, in the current study, the combined competitiveness that stands out in endurance findings in the Karamojong nomadic sphere augments the prior positives of the nomadic people. Nomads are skillful, rational users of the available resources (Baxter & Hogg 1990; Behnke & Scoones 1993), as well as entrepreneurial, with good negotiating capabilities, with a strong sense of dignity and self-respect (Carr-Hill & Peart, 2005). Perhaps the combined competitiveness other than individual competitiveness hinge on such prior positives, thus explaining how the nomadic societies continue to thrive amidst the face of the external ignorance and prejudice, as highlighted by Baxter & Hogg (1990). Therefore the nomadic skillfulness, entrepreneurial acumen, negotiation capabilities, and rational resource use and enriched by combined competitiveness if applied to firms whether business or non-business oriented will bolster the firm sustainability.

Karamojong Patient Family Capital

The cow and land manifested as the core tangible assets among the Karamojong. Land related literature in Uganda is in line with the current study's findings on communal and private land. Although most studies focus on the land rights, especially amongst the women (Kobusingye, Van & Van 2016) in Karamoja, this study found out that Land is cherished to the Karamojong

family and that land is largely utilized for cultivation. Regarding the cow as another core Karamojong asset, it was found that the cow is special. The Karamojong believe that cows are the driver of their livelihood. Although the cows are a symbol of leadership status in the Karamojong society, the cow is also considered a community heritage. The Karamojong attach high societal, economic and family values in the cow. Similarly, Gandhi's writings though inclined to the Hindu religious philosophy, indicated that the cow is pivotal to the entire sub-human world, extending man's sympathies beyond his own species; man through the cow enjoined to realize the identity with all that lives. The cow is the giver of plenty; not only does she give milk, but she also makes agriculture possible (Gandhi 1921). In Uganda, the cow is not only embraced in the Karamojong region but also other regions such as the Ankole and the Teso regions. However, even though the cow is largely praised, Gandhi indicated that a cow is a poem of pity:

“The cow is poem of pity; one reads pity in the gentle animal; she is the second mother to millions of mankind. Gandhi added that protection of the cow means protection of the whole dumb creation of God” Gandhi (1921).

Beyond the cow, other unique physical assets such as the *Manyatta* of the Karamojong may not be underestimated. Besides the tangible assets, special intangible assets which are part of the capital of the Karamojongs manifested in the Karamojong settings. In line with existing literature on intangible assets, they are especially highlighted under the resource based view theory (Barney 1991, 2001). In particular, societal initiations such as *Akiwor* and *Asapan*, augmented by the streamlined leadership of the college of elders as well as unique heritage remain the immeasurable nonphysical assets amongst the Karamojong society. Whereas most recent reports indicate that the Karamojong are primitive and that they score high on poverty (UBOS HHS 2017; Kisige (2017), the strong intangible assets that are deep rooted in the traditions and initiations for solid institutional memories that may hardly be found in large modern entities, more so given that the traditional means of knowledge reservoirs are utilized through human minds, the cognitive capital other than knowledge stored on computers and through paperwork.

Whereas the long term orientation as embedded in the patient family resources literature (Habbershon et al., 2003, Van Wyk, 2012, Zahra & Sharma, 2004) most of the works relate to the family business other than the nomadic society dynamics, uniquely patient capital in form of cows, land, and more uniquely the intangible assets traditions, doctrines, echoed during the diverse community-based initiations not only introduce new insights but augment the existing knowledge of patient family resources especially in the developing economy settings. This is vital given that contrasting views on deep family involvement exist, otherwise coined as the family effect (Gibb 2006), which has been mentioned to cause liabilities other than assets. Regarding the Karamojong family, this kind of liability, which is likely to lead to impatient family capital may be associated with the Karamojong woman. Whereas the men in this society are key in decision making, with rights to own land and animals, especially the cows, the women are presumed to trade on their male counterpart's authority. Besides that, women indirectly gain status from the husband's status, while only men are allowed to have more wives, under the polygamous family, a commonly celebrated practice in Karamoja. Without underestimating the rigors of polygamy, the meshing resulting from the Karamojong family extendedness, i.e., meshed with the horizontal family extension (intra-generational) and vertical family extension (intergenerational) to clan level may result in impatient family capital especially given the fears

indicated that modernization and human rights initiatives have set in to control the Karamojongs way of life.

Conclusion

Evidence on the three prepositions obtained. The first proposition posited that nomadic cultural settings are more likely to influence family cohesion. In this regard, empirical evidence on the influence of Karamojong nomadic initiations and clan based practical family cohesion was obtained. Secondly, the other preposition focused on the importance of nomadic settings on individual endurance. It was evident that nomadism in the arid areas as well as the Karamojong past trekking via the wilderness to settle in North East Uganda, and the initiation and traditions play a significant role in promoting the Karamojong endurance. Finally, the third proposition focused on the nomadic settings' influence to patient or impatient family capital. In this regard, two patient physical assets that form the common Karamojong capital was unveiled, i.e., land and cows. These are mostly communally owned, and the male clan members take charge of most of the decisions regarding the assets. Also, intangible assets in the form of communication mechanisms, initiations, deep-rooted authority enshrined in the elders were evident in the Karamojong. However, the women seem to be crowded out in decisions regarding assets, which may lead to impatient family capital. Besides that, modernization is mentioned as one of the inhibitors of the cherished Karamojong practical family cohesion.

Implications

The practical family cohesion attributes in Karamoja need not be underestimated. The sharing, the usefulness, the elders' role in galvanizing family cohesiveness, family capital, and monitoring the endurance initiations ought to be taken up. The respective stakeholders, especially the local council leaders, the district officials in Karamoja as well as the other regions, should embrace these nomadic practices of sharing, protection, and support in social activities. However, women should also be given adequate space to permeate the decision making on the Karamojong asset base especially given that women were mentioned to have a pivotal role in sustaining the Karamojong clan based practical family cohesion. The Karamojong elders' significance in authority should be included on the respective government initiatives. Lastly, the cow as a unit of the transaction should be applied in computing asset accumulation in the Karamojong spheres since the Karamojong prefer the cow to money in their commercial transactions.

The practical family cohesiveness., together with the elder robust leadership structures that oversee adequate endurance and safeguards of family capital, especially the livestock and land ownership, should be embraced and adopted in wider non-nomadic communities in East Africa. The endurance initiations and family capital attributes in the Karamojong pastoralists used for generations provide entrepreneurial, sustainability, and useful leadership lessons. These should be adopted in the developing economies or other economies where sustainability and effective leadership of entities are wanting.

Implications to the Stewardship Theory

The family cohesiveness comprised of communal sharing, the combined competitiveness, and the patient family capital built for generations which is steered by the college of elders. Are vital inputs in the stewardship domain./ The elders have full authority/ respectfulness as stewards of

society members. These findings expand the spectrum of the stewardship theory. Therefore, new stewardship dimensions manifest out of the nomadic cultural settings.

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